

NEWSLETTER OF POLITICS & HISTORY:
AN ORGANIZED SECTION OF
AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

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From the President's Desk

Naming the Article Prize

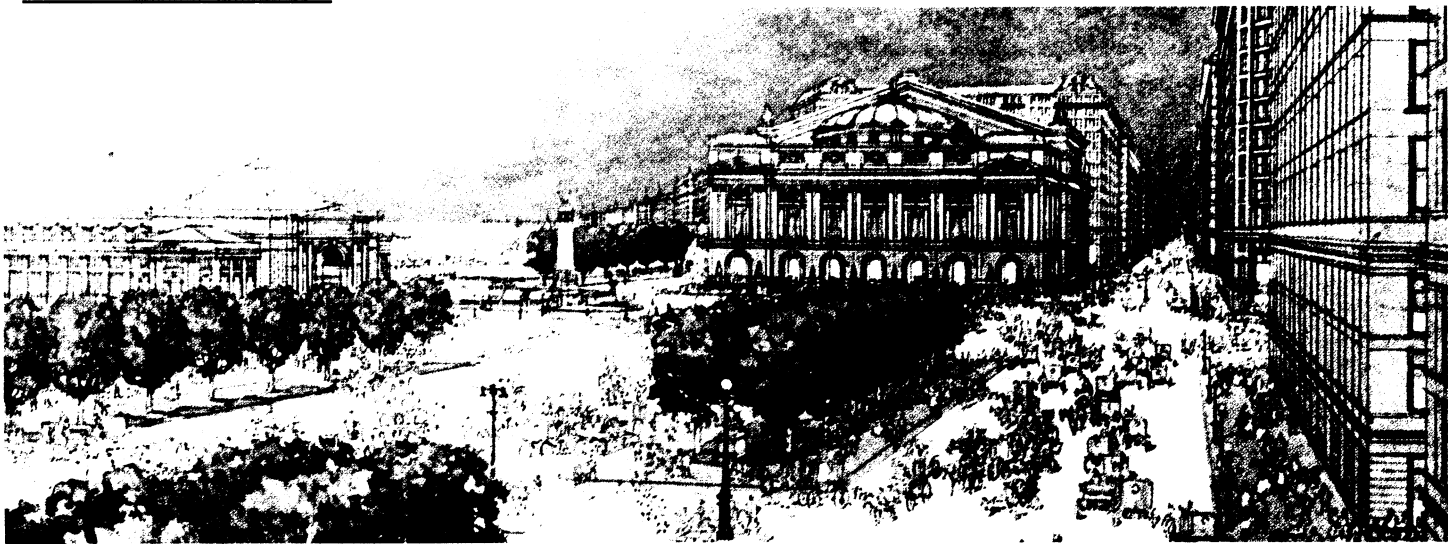
Stephen Skowronek,
YALE UNIVERSITY

After a few unsuccessful attempts to agree at our annual meetings upon a name for the section's article prize, members resolved last year to charge the President and the Council with settling the matter. The Council and I have been guided in our deliberations about this by the concerns expressed at those earlier meetings: that the name of the prize should recognize a major scholar whose work addresses the interests of the section; that it should be named after someone whose work is not limited to American politics; that it should be named after someone who wrote a famous article; that it should be named after a woman; that it should be named after someone who was active politically as well as academically; that it should be named after a historical rather than a contemporary figure. Each of these concerns was pressed vigorously in our exchanges, and no single suggestion seemed to address all of them equally well. I am pleased to report, however, that we have achieved strong and broad-based support for someone who comes pretty close, Mary Parker Follett.

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POLITICS & HISTORY
AN ORGANIZED SECTION OF

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For continuous receipt, section membership must be renewed yearly in addition to the annual membership required by the APSA.

Submissions are welcomed for all sections. We encourage letters and submissions, especially for New Books and Works in Progress. The deadline for submissions for the Fall/Winter issue is October 15. Communications and submissions should be directed to:

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IS POLITICAL HISTORY DEAD?

Donald T. Critchlow,
Department of History,
SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY

"POLITICAL HISTORY IS DEAD. SOCIAL HISTORY KILLED IT."

So say many practitioners of history today. Some political historians feel so excluded from the historical profession that they have turned to the American Political Science Association as an outlet for their work. Indeed, Professor Paul Kleppner, one of the founders of the "new political history" that emerged in the 1970s has changed his affiliation from History to Political Science. Recently, Hugh Graham, a well known historian of civil rights policy, declared in an article in *The Public Historian* that the political history has become so marginalized in the current environment that its growth is stunted and its future tenuous.¹ To remedy this situation he prescribes a new agenda derived from the new institutionalists in political science and sociology. Similarly, voicing complaints that political history has been so excluded from the programs of the two major historical associations, the American Historical Association and the Organization of American Historians, historians of American twentieth century political history have begun extensive conversations of forming a separate association of political history.

The implications of these views suggest placing history on two separate tracks—social history and institutional history. Thus if new institutionalism is to find a place in history, the consequence would be the creation of two separate and distinct paths for the historian—new institutional history that focuses primarily on the state and its activities and social history that remains concerned with "history from the bottom up." These paths, however, would rarely intersect.

The assessment of the state of political history therefore appears grim. Leaving aside the question of the accuracy of this assessment of political history, the obvious question is whether there is any way social history and institutional history can compliment one another? Can the social historian teach political historians anything relevant to the study of the state and state institutions?

I would like to suggest a different perspective on the relationship between social history and institutional history—one that suggests that the two should enrich one another and make for a more complete and sophisticated history. Political/policy history, if it is to fulfill its vision of offering an integrative approach to the study of history, needs to incorporate the richness of the new social history. To do this, political/policy historians must begin to think in terms of integrative approaches and interactive models that bring social history back into the study of the state.

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On the Cover: A Jules Guerin interpretation of Daniel Burnham's master plan for Chicago, 1909. View looks south on Michigan Avenue.

FROM THE EDITOR:

The Western Political Science Association provided a congenial and lively milieu for the discussion of politics and history this March. Eileen McDonagh and Ruth O'Brien put together a first-rate program. Though construction at the Portland Hilton created some difficulties for participants, the panels were well attended and lively. Karen Orren again organized a dinner for participants, and the dinner provided a much appreciated opportunity for members of our section to meet or acquaint ourselves with one another.

Among the many interesting panels, I had the good fortune to chair a roundtable at which four prominent historians — Mary Furner, Harry Scheiber, Hugh Davis Graham, and Donald Critchlow — discussed the status of politics and history from their perspective as policy historians. This issue includes written comments by Graham and Critchlow. Mary Furner has agreed to comment in a future issue of *Clio*.

Following opening comments by the panelists, several members of our section engaged them in a wide ranging and frank discussion of perspectives and methods in the two disciplines. Historians and political scientists shared a common feeling of being outside the mainstream in their professions. Historians felt that social history had marginalized interest in policy and politics in their discipline. Political scientists expressed a sense of alienation from the profession's methodological interest in deductive rational choice approaches. The historians agreed among themselves that methods are not approached methodically in the professional training in history. Cliometrics seems to have fallen by the wayside with the ascendance of social history.

The discussion also highlighted some of the differences between history and political science. While the best research in both disciplines combines analytical rigor with potent theoretical insights, the analytical styles and standards of the two disciplines emphasize different kinds of things. Historians focus on the accurate portrayal of events (see Graham's comments here). The political scientists emphasize generalization and models of political events. For example, historians would emphasize a thorough understanding of a particular political change, while political scientists would want to generalize and model types of change. Jargon also separates the disciplines. Historians might characterize an event in terms of change, while a social scientist might describe the same event in terms of "punctuated equilibrium."

The historians and political scientists expressed great interest in continuing contact with each other. Scholarship in each field could benefit by more citation of important work frequently overlooked by the other.

As these comments suggest, the politics and history impulse thrives in many settings. For example, we have agreed informally to channel some of our section announcements and book notes through the H-State and H-Pol lists on the Internet (see the last issue of *Clio*). The outstanding panels put together by Cathie Jo Martin for the 1995 American Political Science Association meetings this fall in Chicago (see pages 6-9) provide yet another chance for us to exchange research and views. Section members particularly are urged to take advantage of the short course on Race and American Political Development that Rogers Smith and Adolph Reed are offering on the Wednesday before the official start of the APSA.

Our section includes an enormous pool of talent, and *Clio* needs your contribution to illuminate the breadth and depth of that pool. Please write to us and for us. Send us a paragraph about your research in progress, a note about an overlooked book or article, a piece about teaching resources, methods, or the Internet. Our members are particularly interested in teaching, methods, and the job market. Even a single paragraph on these topics can go a long way.

Finally, we are indebted to the Department of Political Science at the University of Missouri - St. Louis and particularly to its chair, Lyman Tower Sargent. Lyman has arranged for graduate assistance for the newsletter, secured computer hardware for the newsletter, and has supported this newsletter in many other ways.

NOMINEES FOR POLITICS AND HISTORY SECTION OFFICERS

The nominating committee will present the following slate of new officers at the section meeting in Chicago:

President: Karen Orren

New Council Members: Victoria Hattam, Martin Shefter, Charles Stewart, Kathleen Thelen

Program Coordinators: Eileen McDonagh, Paul Pierson

This year's nominating committee was composed of **Richard Bensel, Eldon Eisenach, Sven Steinmo, Deborah Stone, and Stephen Skowronek**. Our by-laws provide for challenges by petition prior to the section meeting. The nominations committee should receive the petitions by August 1. No challenges will be entertained from the floor during the meeting.

COMMENTS ON POLICY HISTORY AT THE
WESTERN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION,
PORTLAND, OREGON — 17 MARCH 1995

*Hugh Davis Graham,
Holland McTyeire Professor of History,
Vanderbilt University*

I am a political historian whose research method, reconstructing the development of public policy in the past through documents found in elite archives, should locate me at the busy intersection of historical and political analysis of American government. Instead, I feel like a lonely commuter. Let me explain why, and what significance I find in this state of affairs.

When I walk into the presidential libraries — I have prowled the White House files from Kennedy through Reagan — I see few historians and virtually no political or social scientists. The historians started disappearing in the 1960s, ironically just as public policy began exploding in volume and complexity. The chief reason for this was a sea change in the historical profession, which sharply reduced the volume of new history PhDs while shifting their focus wholesale toward grassroots social history. The social scientists, with rare exceptions, had never turned to archival research in the first place. There are many good reasons for this — archives take too long to open, political scientists can use published documents and elite interviews to publish more timely research, archival research lends itself to narrow and intense rather than broad and comparative study.

I see several consequences of this state of affairs. One is that policy historians like myself find more interest in political history and more fresh thinking at meetings like this one, and like the APSA meeting in New York I attended last August, than we find at the meetings of the historical associations, where the sessions seem to cluster around the same themes of race, gender, ethnicity, and class in social history. A second consequence is my growing awareness that what policy historians like me do differs from what you do. And we both can benefit from these differences. We share a common interest in the policy process and a belief that history shapes distinctive political cultures and institutions that in turn powerfully influence political events.

I find, however, that the closer I come to the present in my archival research, the stronger I get pulled toward the past. Social scientists studying the policy process share a utilitarian goal of making better policy. Better knowledge of the American policy process should produce better predictions about policy outcomes. But my backward-looking archival research doesn't improve my ability to make predictions. Indeed, it reinforces my disinclinations to make any. But it greatly sharpens my understanding of the past, and particularly of those relatively rare, seismic shifts in Ameri-

can political life, like the Civil War and the New Deal, that fundamentally change our institutions and expectations. Let me give just one example.

I began exploring the presidential archives in the late 1970s in the Kennedy and Johnson libraries, and subsequently I worked in the Nixon, Ford, and Carter papers. Recently I used the Freedom of Information Act to open a surprisingly rich series of files in the Reagan Library on the Grove City College case. As you may recall, this involved efforts by the Reagan administration, capitalizing on a 1984 Supreme Court decision and Republican control of the Senate, to restrict the scope of federal civil rights regulation. By 1988 the Democrats had recaptured the Senate and passed a Civil Rights Restoration Act over Reagan's veto. My study of these events, however, did not prepare me for the Republican sweep of Congress during the Clinton administration. Maybe you weren't surprised by Newt's Revolution. But I was.

My work in the Reagan Library, however, taught me a great deal about the 1960s. I became more convinced than ever that the 1960s represents one of those great watershed eras that change the direction of our political life. The Grove City College case traced its roots to black and feminist protest, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, and a revolution in public law litigation that produced a comprehensive, national regime of affirmative action, one that deflected the best attacks of the Reagan White House. We may be entering another period of fundamental change today. But don't ask me. The more archival evidence I see from the 1980s, the more I learn about the 1960s. I am no help in making political predictions. And I may be less helpful than I would like in making better policy. My fellow policy historians may not share in this self-abnegation. But I think you can, and do, use the histories we write to make better sense of policy-making today and tomorrow.

I'm encouraged that there are so many of you to care about what we write, and even occasionally perhaps to buy our too-expensive books. Your tribe of History and Politics is increasing, and I take comfort in your robust numbers. My tribe of political historians continues to shrink, I fear. But historians know that tastes are seasonal. Until our tribe increases, we count you as kissing cousins, and enjoy the clan reunion.

Correction

We failed to list Ann Norton as a member of the Politics and History Council in our last issue. We regret the oversight and apologize to Professor Norton.

Gary King,
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Political science journals, book presses, and granting organizations are increasingly requiring authors to add a footnote to publications indicating in which public archive they will deposit the information necessary to replicate their numerical results, and the date when it will be submitted (or an explanation if the data could not be archived). In order to encourage these contributions to the scholarly community, this newsletter will provide authors writing in this field some additional visibility by listing a brief citation to their "replication dataset," and the corresponding publication for which it was created, in our next available issue. Just send us a letter listing your publication and dataset and we will be sure to include it.

Two of the archives willing to accept replication datasets include the Social Science Research Archive collection of the Public Affairs Video Archive (PAVA) at Purdue University and the "Class V collection" at the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) at the University of Michigan. Both archives will forever keep and distribute replication datasets and make them known to others.

In order to submit the data, put it on a disk or tape and mail it to PAVA (Director; Public Affairs Video Archive; Purdue University; 1000 Liberal Arts Building, West Lafayette, Indiana 47907-1000) and/or the ICPSR (Director, User Support; ICPSR; P.O. Box 1248; Ann Arbor, MI 48106). An easier approach is to put your data in a self-extracting archive file (with a utility such as PKZIP for the DOS operating system, TAR for Unix, or Stuffit for the Macintosh) and submit it via anonymous FTP; you should also announce the file name, and article, book, or dissertation citation in an accompanying electronic mail message. To send to PAVA, FTP to pava.purdue.edu in directory pub/incoming and send electronic mail to info@pava.purdue.edu. To submit to the ICPSR, FTP to ftp.icpsr.umich.edu in directory pub/incoming and send electronic mail to jan@tdis.icpsr.umich.edu.

Awards

Rodney Bruce Hall, a doctoral candidate at the Univ. of Pennsylvania, was recently awarded the Frederick Hartmann Award for the best graduate student paper at the Northeast meeting of the International Studies Association in Providence, RI, November 10-12, 1994. The paper was entitled "The Idea of the Nation in International Relations: Collective Identity and the Transformation of the International System."

Matthew Holden of the University of Virginia received the Robert Lane Award for service as President of the Policy Studies Organization.

CALL FOR PAPERS

POLITICS AND HISTORY SECTION PANELS

AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION MEETINGS

SAN FRANCISCO, CA AUGUST 29 - SEPTEMBER 1, 1996

Section Program Co-Chairs:

Eileen McDonagh and Paul Pierson

Eileen McDonagh, Department of Political Science, Northeastern University, Boston, MA 02115, 617-373-2796 or 617-495-8140, FAX 617-496-3993, e-mail: emcd@neu.edu.

Paul Pierson, until September 1st, Russell Sage Foundation, 112 East 64th St., New York, NY 10021, 212-750-6008, FAX 212-371-4761, e-mail: pierson@rsage.org; after September 1st, Center for European Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA 02138, 617-495-4303, ext 227, FAX 617-495-8509, e-mail: pierson@harvard.edu.

The Politics and History Section welcomes proposals from a variety of perspectives concerning this year's theme, politics and inequality. As Section Co-chairs we especially encourage panels that use history to study political processes over time (rather than simply to generate more cases), and those that cross subfields (e.g., comparative and American, or comparative and international relations). Panels featuring state of the art analyses of methodological issues and those breaking new substantive ground are equally welcome. In addition we seek panels that explore politics and inequality by focusing on institutional contexts, historical reform eras, culture and ideas in relation to political change, dimensions of citizenship, the creation and implementation of public policies, and alternative models of political development. Attention to class, race, and gender as aspects of political inequality over time and within institutional settings is encouraged.

We do not intend these suggestions to be limiting, however, and leave the door open for submission of additional ideas.

Please send a one-page abstract outlining the central question, argument, and methodology of your paper as well as the topic's contribution to the advancement of our field. We encourage panel and roundtable proposals, but in all cases please use the forms provided by the APSA. We also welcome offers to serve as discussants or panel chairs. To facilitate communication, proposals and letters should include full names and addresses, institutional affiliations, telephone and fax numbers, and e-mail addresses. Proposals that fail to meet the deadline set by the APSA will be considered only after those which were submitted in a timely fashion.

**Politics and History Panels at the
American Political Science Association Meetings
Chicago Hilton and Towers, August 31-September 3, 1995**

DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL AND THE LIMITS TO MOBILIZATION: LESSONS FROM THE PAST

Chair: Amy Bridges (University of California - San Diego)

"Presidents, Party Systems, and Civil Rights: Historical Opportunity Structures Under Clinton and Truman," Scott C. James
(University of California - Davis)

"Party Out of Power: Democratic Strategies After 1896," Kenneth Finegold (Eastern Washington University)

"Party Reform as a Failed Effort at Political Renewal," David Plotke (New School for Social Research)

"A Little Something for the Ladies: the Impact of Suffrage Campaigns on Protective Legislation for Women Workers in the
Progressive Era," Cheryl Logan Sparks and Peter R. Walniuk (University of North Carolina)

Discussant: Anna Harvey (New York University)

SWITZERLAND FROM HOMELAND TO OUTLIER OF LIBERALISM

Chair: Gary Freeman (University of Texas - Austin)

"Swiss Liberalism and the Delay of Woman Suffrage," John Bendix (Bryn Mawr College)

"Constraints on Educational Expansion in the Bottoms Up Swiss Democracy," Arnold J. Heidenheimer (Washington University)

"Direct Democracy and Swiss Isolation in Europe," Kris Kobach (Yale University)

"Hegemonial Liberalism in a Consociational Polity," Gerhard Lembruch (Universitaet Konstanz)

**LIBERALIZATION AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY FROM A COMPARATIVE
PERSPECTIVE**

Chair: Peter A. Hall (Harvard University)

"Liberalism and Neo-Liberalism: How Many French Revolutions?" Andrew Gould (University of Notre Dame)

"The Historical Preconditions for the Modern Scandinavian Welfare State," Tim Knudsen (University of Copenhagen)

"Liberalization and Democratization in 19th and 20th Century Germany in Comparative Perspective," Thomas Ertman (Harvard)

"Structure and Strategy in the Development of American Liberalism," Charles Noble (California State University)

Discussant: Aristide Zolberg (New School for Social Research)

RACE AND AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Chair: Philip A. Klinkner (Hamilton College)

"Party Mobilization of Minority Voters," Paul Frymer (Yale University)

"Race and the Development of American Institutions," Robert C. Lieberman (Columbia University)

"The Sectional State: Black Americans and the US Federal Bureaucracy 1933-54," Desmond King (St. John's College)

"FDR's Department of War and Black Americans," Daniel Kryder (MIT)

Discussants: Frederick C. Harris (University of Rochester) and Richard M. Valelly (Swarthmore College)

CITIZENSHIP AND AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Chair: Marc Landy (Boston College)

"Supported Work, Unsupported Motherhood: Immigration Reform and Public Charge Exclusion," Barbara Nelson (Radcliffe
College) and Sarita Ahuja (Ford Foundation)

"Defining the Feminist Citizen: The Interwar Debate," Candice Bredbenner (Arizona State University)

"Federalism, Gender and Citizenship in the New Deal," Suzanne B. Mettler (Syracuse University)

Discussants: Gwendolyn Mink (Univ. California - Santa Cruz) and Marc Landy (Boston College)

ROUNDTABLE: AFTER SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS: MULTIPLE RECONSIDERATIONS OF THE STRUGGLES FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES AND ABROAD

Chair: H. Douglas Price (Harvard University)
Lee Ann Banaszak (Pennsylvania State University)
Suzanne M. Marilley (University of Notre Dame)
Marjorie Spruill Wheeler (University of S. Mississippi)

ROUNDTABLE: RACE POLITICS: THE LONG VIEW

Chair: James Morone (Brown University)
Ira Katznelson (Columbia University)
Jennifer Hochschild (Princeton University)
Lani Guinier (Penn Law School)

THE SOCIAL BASES OF LIBERALISM AND REPUBLICANISM

Chair: Carol Nackenoff (Swarthmore College)
"Mediating Structures and the Democratic Prospect," Richard Couto (University of Richmond)
"The Civic Republican Challenge to Liberalism: the Past, Present and Future of America's Submerged Tradition," Alan Zundel (University of Nevada Las Vegas)
"The American Hero: The Origins and Psychological Underpinnings of American Liberalism," John Gerring (Boston University)
"Liberalism and the Culture of Democracy in 19th Century Britain," William L. Niemi (UCLA)
Discussant: Carol Nackenoff (Swarthmore College)

ROUNDTABLE: THE CRISIS OF LABOR AND THE STATE

Chair: Ruth O'Brien (City University of New York)
Michael Goldfield (Wayne State University)
Ruth O'Brien (John Jay College - CUNY)
Ron Blackwell (ACTWU)
Joel Rogers (University of Wisconsin)
Dr. Howard Wial (US Labor Department)

THE POLITICS OF FINANCIAL REFORM IN ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES

Chair: Sofia Perez (Boston University)
"Institutional Change as a Collective Action Problem: A U.S. German Comparison of Corporate Governance," John R. Griffin (MIT)
"The Institutional Mediation of Financial Deregulation in the 1980s and 1990s: Labor Constraint, Corporatism and Industrial Finance in the US and Germany," Sigurt Vitols (Wissenschaftszentrum - Berlin)
"Macroeconomic Choices and Institutional Change: The Politics of Financial Interventionism and Its Abandonment in Post-War Europe," Sofia Perez (Boston University)
Discussants: Richard Locke (MIT) and Christopher Allen (University of Georgia)

Short Course: Race and American Political Development

A Politics and History Section Short Course: "Race and American Political Development" will be offered by Rogers Smith and Adolph Reed at the 1995 APSA Meetings. Topics will include: the ways and extent to which racial identities are historically products of governmental institutions & political mobilization; the relationship of race to class and gender hierarchies; and ways in which racial conflicts have historically structured many apparently nonracial political and legal controversies and policies.

CONGRESS & THE NEW INSTITUTIONALISM: THE VIEW FROM THE PAST

Chair: H. Douglas Price (Harvard University)

“Changes in the Rules of the U.S. House of Representatives: Electoral Forces and Majority Control,” Evelyn C. Fink and Brian D. Humes (University of Nebraska)

“Endogeneity, Path Dependence, and the Political Careers of U.S. Senators: The Impact of Holding Leadership and Non-Leadership Positions,” Elaine K. Swift (Eastern Washington University)

“Rules and Results: The Impact of the 17th Amendment on the Composition of the U.S. Senate,” Susan Ellis (University of Michigan) and Ronald King (Tulane University)

Sarah Binder (Brookings Institute)

Discussants: H. Douglas Price (Harvard University) and Rick K. Wilson (Rice University)

IMAGINING POLITICS IN HISTORY

Chair: Gretchen Ritter (University of Texas - Austin)

“Tocqueville, Peripheral Peoples, and Colonial Regimes,” Carlos Forment (Princeton University)

“The Shape of History,” Anne Norton (University of Pennsylvania)

“Political Alternatives and the Creation of Historical Coherence in the United States,” Gretchen Ritter (Harvard University)

“Temporal Traditions of Modernity,” Evalyn Tennant (University of Chicago)

Discussants: Karen Orren (University of California - LA) and Uday Mehta (MIT)

INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCES ON AMERICAN POLITICS

Chair: Martin Shefter (Cornell University)

“The American State During and After the Cold War,” Peter Gourevitch (University of California-San Diego)

“The International Environment and American Political Institutions,” Ronald Rogowski (University of California-LA)

“International Hegemony and America Party Politics: the ‘Party Period’ vs. the Contemporary Era,” Martin Shefter (Cornell Univ.)

“Still American Exceptionalism,” Stephen Krasner (Stanford University)

Discussant: J. Lawrence Broz (Harvard University)

ROUNDTABLE ON ELDON EISENACH’S THE LOST PROMISE OF PROGRESSIVISM

Chair: Stephen Skowronek (Yale University)

Sid Milkis (Brandeis University)

Wilson Carey McWilliams (Rutgers University)

Deborah Stone (Brandeis University)

Eldon Eisenach (University of Tulsa)

THE POLITICS OF LAW IN STATE BUILDING: CONTEMPORARY HISTORICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL APPROACHES

Chair: Susan Sterett (University of Denver)

“State Building in the New England Circuit: Justice Curtis in the Antebellum Political System,” Stuart Streichler (Univ. of Miami)

“Civil War Stories and the Struggle to Reconfigure America: Congressional Debates Over Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment,” Pamela Brandwein (University of Texas - Dallas)

“The Constitution and State-Centered Theories of American Politics,” Stephen Griffin (Tulane Law School)

“Mexican American, Native Americans and the Emancipatory Politics of Reconstruction America,” Rob Castro (University of Michigan)

“Dialogue Precluded: Bureaucratic Legalism in the Fragmented State,” Charles Lester (University of Colorado-Boulder)

Discussants: Cornell Clayton (Washington State University) and Michael Strine (University of Colorado-Boulder)

BOUNDARIES: RACE, IMMIGRATION, AND MEMBERSHIP IN AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT AND DEVELOPMENT

Chair: Daniel J. Tichenor (Rutgers University)

"Immigration: Elites and Nation-Building," Rogers M. Smith (Yale University)

"Ideas, Institutions, and U.S. Immigrant Policy, 1906-1986," Noah Pickus (Middlebury College)

"The Liberal and Illiberal Traditions in America: The Case of Immigration Policy Development," Daniel J. Tichenor (Rutgers Univ.)

Discussants: Eileen L. McDonagh (Northeastern University) and James A. Morone (Brown University)

REDRESSING HISTORY

Chair: Peter Van Ness (University of Denver)

"Reassessing Chairman Mao," Su Shaozhi (Institute on Marxism, Lennism, Mao Zedong Thought)

"No to Impunity! Reconciliation in Chile and Argentina," Annie Dandavati (Hope College)

"The United States and the My Lai Massacre in Vietnam," Arthur Gilbert (University of Denver)

"The Mabo Case in Australia," Caroline Joske (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission)

Discussant: Peter Van Ness (University of Denver)

BUSINESS AND THE POLITICS OF SOCIAL WELFARE INNOVATION

Chair: David Vogel (University of California - Berkeley)

"Stuck In Neutral: Business and the Politics of Social Policy," Cathie Jo Martin (Boston University)

"Employers Against Markets: On the Importance of Business Support for Social Policy in Sweden and the U.S.," Peter Swenson (Northwestern University)

"The Scope and Limits of Business Power: Revisiting the Origins of the American Welfare State," Paul Pierson (Harvard University)

Discussants: David Vogel (University of California-Berkeley) and John Stephens (University of North Carolina)

THE EVOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL POLITICAL AGENDA IN POSTWAR AMERICA

Chair: Graham Wilson (University of Wisconsin)

"The Changing Political Agenda in the United States," Graham Wilson (University of Wisconsin)

"Political Parties and Trade: An Axis of Competition?" John Coleman (University of Wisconsin)

"The Politics of Home Front Mobilization: The United States, Civil Defense Plans, and the Civic Garrison State, 1947-1953,"
Andrew Grossman (New School for Social Research)

"The Legacy of Vietnam: A Case Study in the Uses (and Abuses) of Historical Analogies in the Making of America Foreign Policy," Karl Schonberg (University of Virginia)

Discussant: Gary Mucciaroni (Temple University)

1996 Western Political Science Association

Section Chair Scott James invites panel and paper proposals for the 1996 Western Political Science Association meetings in San Francisco in March, 1996. Professor James is currently with the Political Science Department at the University of California-Davis, Davis, CA 95616 (phone: 916-752-2634). After August of 1995, he can be reached at the Department of Political Science, University of California-Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA 90024 (Phone: 310-825-4331).

BOOK NOTES

Alan Brinkley. 1995. *The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War*. New York: Knopf.

David Hart,
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Thank goodness for un-trendy historians! Alan Brinkley's fine new study of the economic ideas of elite, liberal policy-makers between 1937 and 1945 sets the stage for a timely rethinking of this crucial period in American political development. While many trees have been sacrificed to record the "big bang" of the first Roosevelt Administration, too little has been written in recent years about the routinization of the New Dealers' biggest dreams as they reconciled themselves to living in sin with Congressional Conservatives, big business, and the national security state.

Brinkley synthesizes the history of liberal economic ideology, rather than tracking particular policies or politicians. In the style of Ellis Hawley and Alonzo Hamby, whose works Brinkley bridges, *The End of Reform* distills archival findings and specialist literature to a readable form. Brinkley's thesis is that between the "Roosevelt recession" and the end of World War II, American liberals abandoned their perennial project of restructuring the nation's economic institutions and embraced aggregate demand management, with an emphasis on consumption, in its place. This transition was in part a second-best strategy forced on men like Alvin Hansen, the Harvard economist and policy entrepreneur, by political circumstances. Yet, it was also, Brinkley claims, a choice consciously made, thanks to the influence of new intellectual currents and the experience of war.

The assertion that liberals had a choice is Brinkley's most original claim, and it deserves close scrutiny. And here the evidence falls short of proving the case. Much of the transformation was the product of personnel change, rather than individual conversions; it reflected the challenges of governing under the separation of powers and in an era in which international imperatives seemed to require that domestic goals be sacrificed. The President and other politicians fade too far into the background for my taste. A more explicit model of the policy process and its institutions might have helped the reader to better evaluate the argument. Brinkley also fails to specify the value that New Deal reform ideas might have had for postwar political-economic development and for today's policy-makers. By implying that we suffered a loss without telling us how, he opens himself to the charge of nostalgia.

This book should open a debate. It is chock-full of claims to be challenged and concepts to be refined. Precisely because Brinkley is right about the significance of the historical moment to which he has drawn our attention and about which he has provided such useful categories, *The End of Reform* should be a milestone, not a landmark.

Desmond King. 1995. *Actively Seeking Work? The Politics of Unemployment and Welfare Policy in the United States and Great Britain*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press. hc: \$50.00; pc: \$17.95.

King examines the development of American and British public employment exchanges, job training programs, and workfare programs from their origins in the early 1900s. Work and training programs in both nations are linked more closely to welfare benefit management rather than the expansion of employment. This outcome originates in the public employment offices, a liberal reform that constitute the foundation for later labor market programs. Political coalitions that could have defined these offices as active employment managers failed to develop. By the 1930s, these offices became managers of work tests for jobless claimants of social insurance. Their role as benefit managers prevented their later development as managers of "active" labor market policy. In the 1980s and 1990s, American and British labor market policy has returned full circle: "workfare" programs use of the work test to control access to social benefits. King concludes institutionalist theories must take into account more historical detail, especially details about the formation of political coalitions.

Theodore J. Lowi. 1995. *The End of the Republican Era*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. hc: \$22.95.

Lowi adapts his argument in *The End of Liberalism* to the period since 1980. New forms of the "public philosophies" of socialism, liberalism, and conservatism now compete with one another. In contrast to post-war Republicans who acquiesced to New Deal domestic policies, the Reagan administration's tax cuts and military commitments made it almost impossible for these policies to work (p 93). Conservatives' such as William Rusher, Michael Novak, and George Gilder have tried unsuccessfully to find formula that bonds Christian morality with individualistic, amoral capitalism. The Reagan coalition fused the Christian and capitalist right around a platform of opposition to national policies and institutions. If social and economic conservatism are combined, however, "(m)oral capitalism, like moral socialism, would signal not only the end of liberalism and the end of conservatism but also the end of the republican era" (p. 157, pun fully intended). As was true of post-New Deal Liberalism, the new Right's the inherent contradiction — its "contempt for the pluralist political process that makes its own persistence possible" (p 209) — portends tragedy. The final chapter makes a plea for the rule of law.

Kenneth Finegold. 1995. **Experts and Politicians: Reform Challenges to Machine Politics in New York, Cleveland, and Chicago.** Princeton: Princeton University Press. hc: \$39.50.

Finegold analyzes the varied success that Progressive Era reform candidates enjoyed in mayoral elections in three cities with machine-based patronage systems. In each city, reform movements had different roots, and these varied bases of support largely explain the different outcomes. In Chicago, reformers won only one mayoral election and eventually reform gave way to a legendary political machine. In that city traditional reformers such as Charles Merriam won support of native stock, well-educated, middle class supporters but failed to expand their coalition to embrace new immigrant, working class municipal populists. In New York, a broader-based "municipal populist" movement coalesced and then disintegrated during the teens, leaving the field to a resurgent Tammany machine until the ascendance of Fiorello La Guardia. In Cleveland, a more lasting "progressive coalition" laid the basis for several mayoral successes in the teens and for a tradition of successful reform sustained for several decades.

Erwin C. Hargrove. 1994. **Prisoners of Myth: The Leadership of the Tennessee Valley Authority, 1933-1990.** Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hargrove mines a wide range of archives and oral history sources to trace the Tennessee Valley Authority through the three major periods of its history. From 1933 to 1945, the TVA established its mission of regional development, held off political and legal challenges, and established its ideology of "grassroots democracy." From 1945 to the end of the 1960s, the TVA evolved into a largely self-supporting power company with Congressional oversight fading to its marginal tasks. Ironically, this legacy of its New Deal origins and ideology served to imprison the TVA's leadership in the 1970s and 1980s, a period of substantial political and technical failure.

CALL FOR PARTICIPANTS

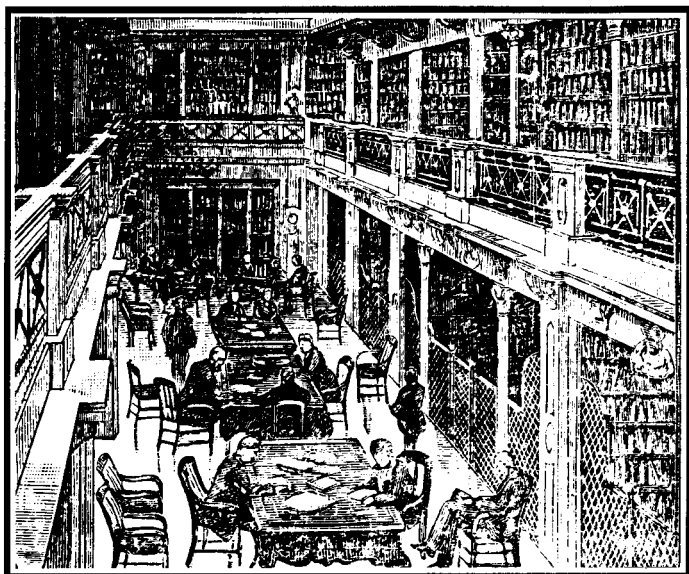
Louisiana State University in Shreveport, The Little White House Historical Site and Roosevelt University ask for participants in an international and multidisciplinary conference, "FDR After 50 years: Politics and Culture of the 1930s and 1940s," to be held on September 14-16, 1995. Contact Bill Pederson, LSU in Shreveport, One University Place, 439BH, Shreveport, LA 71115-2301; (318) 797-5337; FAX (318) 797-5358 for more information.

Gary Mucciaroni. 1995. **Reversal of Fortune: Public Policy and Private Interests.** Washington: Brookings Institution. hc: \$34.95; pc: \$14.95.

The fortunes of producer groups in federal policy making have varied considerably since the 1970s. This variation has occurred because (1) the issue context (that is, the definition and salience of a particular issue in public discourse) and (2) the institutional context (that is, bureaucratic autonomy, strong committee support, and strong, committed leadership) have provided more favorable circumstances for some interests and less favorable circumstances for others. Favorable issue and institutional contexts benefited anticompetitive regulations before the 1970s, tax expenditures before 1982, and agricultural subsidies in the 1980s. Unfavorable issue and institutional contexts resulted in declining fortunes for anticompetitive regulations in the 1970s, tax expenditures in the 1980s, and trade protection. Mucciaroni concludes that neither clientelism nor hyperpluralism accurately describe the changing fortunes of producer groups and American politics. The cases "suggest a government much more capable of building coalitions, making authoritative choices, and coming to closure than the one posited by the new conventional wisdom." (p.182).

OAH Roundtable

A roundtable on "Revitalizing Political History" at the Organization of American Historians' annual meeting on March 30, 1995 attracted overflow crowds of over 100 people and a column in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (4/14/95, p. A8). William Leuchtenburg moderated the panel, which included historians Alan Brinkley, Laura Kalman, Sara Evans, Lizabeth Cohen, Ronald Formisano, and James T. Patterson. The panel sought "to accelerate discussion within the profession about the future of political history and to focus on a process of revitalization and redefinition that now seems rapidly to be taking shape." Peter Knupfer has provided transcripts of the comments on H-Pol, the internet Politics and History list.



BOOKSCAN

Roy J. Adams. 1995. **Industrial Relations Under Liberal Democracy: North America in Comparative Perspective.** Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. hc: \$39.95.

Alberto Alesina and Howard Rosenthal. 1994. **Partisan Politics, Divided Government, and the Economy.** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. hc: \$65.00; pc: \$17.95.

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Lynton K. Caldwell, Edited by Robert V. Bartlett and James N. Gladden. 1995. **Environment as a Focus for Public Policy.** College Station: Texas A&M University Press. hc: \$39.50.

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Workshop on American Political Development

The Boston-area Workshop on American Political Development (founded by Theda Skocpol) is planning a one-day conference, tentatively entitled: "American Political Development: The State of the Field". The projected date is October 14, 1995, at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. Faculty and advanced graduate students are invited to attend.

Suggestions for topics are invited. To submit suggestions, to ensure your name is on the mailing list, and for further information, please contact:

By e-mail: Professor John Gerring, Political Science Department, Boston University - JGERRING@ACS.BU.EDU

By regular mail: Professor David Hart, Kennedy School of Government, 79 JFK St., Cambridge, MA 02138.

Follett has, of course, been in our discussions all along, but many of us knew only a bit about her. The reason for this, it turns out, is that her work cross-cut so many different fields. As a composite picture of her life and scholarship began to emerge, enthusiasm and confidence in this decision grew.

Educated at Radcliffe College and Cambridge University in the 1890s, Follett continued throughout her life to travel across the Atlantic lecturing on themes of common concern to Americans and Europeans in the early decades of the twentieth century. Her first book, **The Speaker of the House of Representatives** (1896), was drafted while she was still a student at Cambridge. It traced the origins of the American Speakership to the British House of Commons and followed the institution's development through the American colonial experience to her own day. It stands in our day as a classic institutional history, and is still considered authoritative by students of Congress.

During the early years of the Progressive era, Follett did social work in Boston. She founded the "Roxbury League" to provide the youth of that neighborhood with a center for intellectual and recreational activities. Out of the League came her idea of using public school buildings as hubs for the organization of neighborhoods more generally. To that end, Follett led the efforts of the Women's Municipal League of Boston to keep schools open after hours as community centers. Boston's innovations in this area set an example for cities across the nation.

In the course of her work in the neighborhoods of Boston, Follett developed a set of ideas and principles about the group basis of democracy and the foundations of social interaction that would inform all of her later writing. At the heart of this theorizing was her concept of "integration." The concept referred to a process by which individuals from very different backgrounds could encounter one another in small groupings and re-create themselves through their interactions in ways that transcended both conflict and compromise. The promise of "integration" made Follett an unrelenting critic of formal social and institutional hierarchies that stifled the development of human individuality and also of simple majoritarian conceptions of democracy that came to rest on the mere act of voting. Her views were perhaps most compatible with Brandeisian and Wilsonian brands of progressivism. In any case, the idealist origins of her philosophy led her to venture some more specific criticisms of many others with whom she otherwise seemed quite sympathetic — with Progressives for placing too much faith in experts, with juridical pragmatists for placing too much faith in legal processes, and with labor for placing too much faith in strikes.

Follett's masterwork, **The New State** (1918), elaborated her ideas about the group basis of democracy into a general theory of political pluralism. Here she applied her conception

of neighborhood organization and human interaction to questions of industrial organization, political organization, national organization, and international organization. The book brought her international attention and placed her in the front ranks of progressive intellectuals in America. **The New State** remains a foundational work in the development of pluralist political theory, its influence extending to contemporary political scientists such as Robert Dahl. **The New State** was followed in 1924 by **Creative Experience**, a book in which Follett began to explore the psychological basis of consent and the conditions under which it could be attained willfully and spontaneously. These psychological explorations would also influence contemporary political science, most notably through the work of Harold Lasswell.

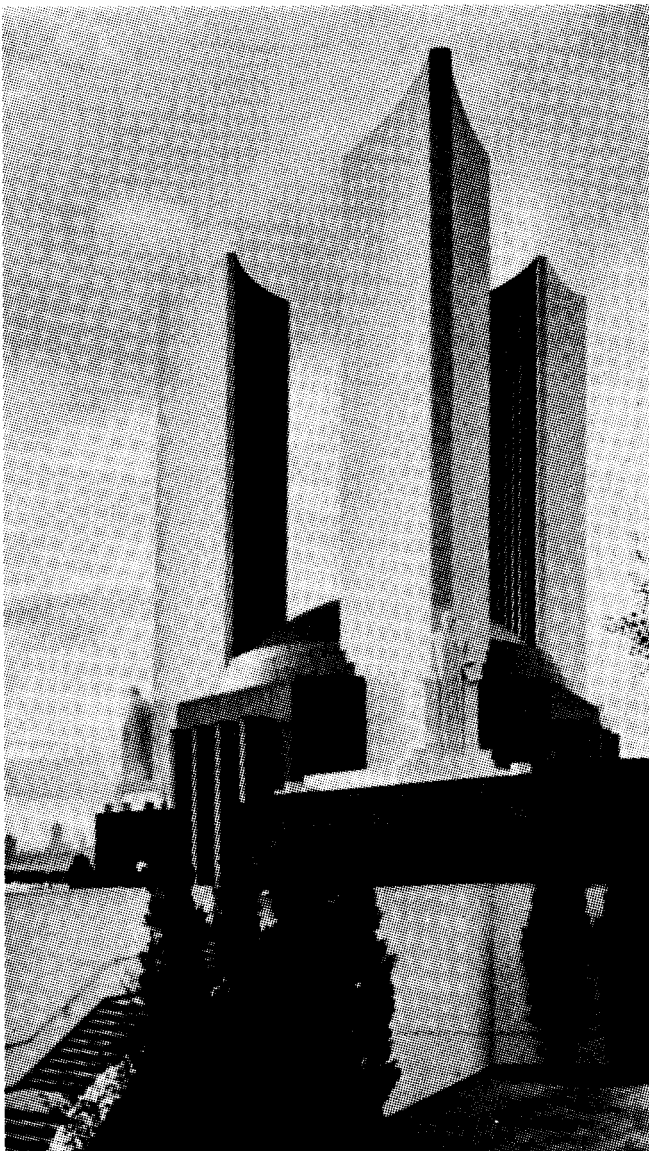
Like many other Progressive intellectuals, Follett turned her attention during the 1920's away from questions of government and politics toward questions of business organization, worker management, and the science of administration. Her prior service as a public representative on the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Board and at the Vocational Guidance Bureau led to an association with Henry Metcalf and The Bureau of Personnel Administration in New York. She lectured in England on the reorganization of industry in 1926 and 1928, and she moved to England to continue her study of European industrial conditions in 1929. Her essays during this period, which include "Constructive-Conflict," "The Psychology of Conciliation and Arbitration," and "Business as an Integrative Unity," continued to spin out the implications of her principle of integration as the higher unity that can be achieved from difference. What distinguishes these essays conceptually is their comparative method. Follett was now putting her ideas for reform up against the very different problem-solving arrangements she found extant in The United States, Canada, Germany, England, and the Netherlands.

While she was living in England, Follett vigorously pursued her long-standing interest in the League of Nations. She travelled often to Geneva and became intimately acquainted with the organization's operations there. Beset by problems, the League presented a final challenge in the area of international relations to Follett's ideas about how interactions based on difference might be coordinated and cooperation gained. The problems of the League figured prominently in her late papers.

Follett gave her last series of lectures in England at the London School of Economics in 1933. Her last American appearance was in 1932 at the Bureau of Personnel Administration where she lectured on "Individualism in a Planned Society." After her death in 1933, her lectures and essays were jointly edited by her American and English sponsors and collected into two volumes. **Dynamic Administration** appeared in 1942; **Freedom and Coordination** in 1949. Like her work on the development of the American Congress and pluralist theory, her essays on administration helped forge the foundations of their field.

In the broad range her concerns, Follett encompassed many of the vital interests of our section's membership: democratic theory, state theory, identity theory, institutional history, comparative politics, administrative politics, international politics, urban politics, community politics, industrial organization, labor conflict. Naming the article prize after Mary Parker Follett will bring recognition to a formidable intellectual whose contributions to our entire discipline have too often been forgotten.

Along with the members of the article prize committee, the Council and I would like to have "Mary Parker Follett Prizes" on hand at our annual meeting in September. This will allow us to bestow something meaningful on the winner of this year's "best article" award and to provide last year's winners with a proper prize. *We will proceed with this plan pending receipt of a petition from ten or more members requesting consideration of some other name for the prize. Any such petition must be received before July 15 so as to halt both our announcement in the official APSA program and the physical production of the prizes on our end.*



The Federal Building, A Century of Progress exposition, Chicago, 1933.

Political and policy historians have tended to neglect the new social history rather than to integrate it into policy history. In turn, new social historians have tended to downplay the importance of the state in peoples' lives. Yet, it remains clear that government policies influence the way people live—most social scientists will agree with this observation—but only a few historians have noted the dominant and primary role the state, especially in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, has played in shaping social life and social institutions. For example, the state during periods of the First World War and the Second World War provided essential support for the creation and growth of industrial unions that led to shop floor control in defense-related industries in England and the United States.

In turn, civil rights in the United States cannot be explained without understanding social movements and the state action in ways that interacted and influenced one another. As David Garrow shows in *Protest at Selma: Martin Luther King Jr and the Voting Rights Act of 1965*, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 would not have been enacted without Martin Luther King mobilizing a mass protest movement to pressure a reticent Lyndon Baines Johnson and congress into enacting new legislation.

The history of no-fault divorce laws offers another example of how a routine policy change can hold profound and unforeseen social consequences. The impetus for no-fault divorce came in the late 1960s and the early 1970s from legal reformers influenced by the emergence of a feminist social movement. No-fault divorce reforms, once implemented, had profound consequences and contributed significantly to the feminization of poverty. No-fault divorce therefore had a contradictory influence on the status of women. While no-fault divorce reflected and reinforced economic gains for women in society, it also contributed to the feminization of poverty by leaving certain women socially vulnerable to poverty.

The point is that social history can inform the political and policy historian in understanding policy innovation, legislation, and implementation. Social movements can effect dramatic shifts in public policies, as evidenced in the civil rights movement and no-fault divorce reform. In turn, the implementation of social policies by the state has profound consequences that affect social structures and society. The very size of modern government and its influence on modern society should make the state hard to overlook, even for the most myopic of social historians.

Thus the question remains not whether the state will be studied, but whether the state will be studied in the context of a larger social history.

¹ "The Stunted Career of Policy History: A Critique and Agenda," *The Public Historian*, 15:2, (Spring 1993). For a reply, see Donald T. Critchlow, "A Prognosis of Policy History: Stunted—or Deceivingly Vital? A Brief Reply to Hugh Davis Graham," *The Public Historian*, 15:4 (Fall 1993).



JOURNAL SCAN

The scholarly journals examined include those published since the last issue of the newsletter. Periodicals that were not available for scanning will be included in future issues.

Administration and Society

J. Patrick Dobel, "Managerial Leadership in Divided Times: William Ruckelshaus and the Paradoxes of Independence," 26:4 (February 1995): 488-514.

The American Economic Review

Douglass C. North, "Economic Performance Through Time," 84:3 (June 1994): 359-368.

Robert W. Fogel, "Economic Growth, Population Theory, and Physiology: The Bearing of Long-Term Processes on the Making of Economic Policy," 84:3 (June 1994): 369-395.

Mario J. Crucini, "Sources of Variation in Real Tariff Rates: The United States, 1900-1940," 84:3 (June 1994): 732-743.

Randall S. Kroszner and Raghuram G. Rajan, "Is the Glass-Steagall Act Justified? A Study of the U.S. Experience with Universal Banking Before 1933," 84:4 (September 1994): 810-832.

The American Historical Review

Leila J. Rupp, "Constructing Internationalism: The Case of Transnational Women's Organizations, 1888-1945," 99:5 (December 1994): 1571-1600.

Eric Arnesen, "'Like Banquo's ghost, It Will Not Down': The Race Question and the American Railroad Brotherhoods, 1880-1920," 99:5 (December 1994): 1601-1633.

Thomas C. Holt, "Presidential Address: Marking: Race, Race-making, and the Writing of History," 100:1 (February 1995): 1-20.

American Journal of Political Science

Wayne L. Francis, Lawrence W. Kenny, Rebecca B. Morton, Amy B. Schmidt, "Retrospective Voting and Political Mobility," 38:4 (November 1994): 999-1024.

Michael B. Berkman, "State Legislators in Congress: Strategic Politicians, Professional Legislatures, and the Party Nexus," 38:4 (November 1994): 1025-1055.

Lucig H. Danielian and Benjamin I. Page, "The Heavenly Chorus: Interest Group Voices on TV News," 38:4 (November 1994): 1056-1078.

American Political Science Review

James E. Alt and Robert C. Lowry, "Divided Government, Fiscal Institutions, and Budget Deficits: Evidence from the States," 88:4 (December 1994): 811-828.

Stephen Ansolabehere, Shanto Iyengar, Adam Simon, and Nicholas Valentino, "Does Attack Advertising Demobilize the Electorate?" 88:4 (December 1994): 829-838.

Charles O. Jones, "A Way of Life and Law," 89:1 (March 1995): 1-9.

Peter F. Nardulli, "The Concept of a Critical Realignment, Electoral Behavior, and Political Change," 89:1 (March 1995): 10-22.

James C. Clingmayer and B. Dan Wood, "Disentangling Patterns of State Debt Financing," 89:1 (March 1995): 108-120.

American Politics Quarterly

Kevin M. Leyden and Stephen A. Borrelli, "An Investment in Goodwill: Party Contributions and Party Unity Among U.S. House Members in the 1980s," 22:4 (October 1994): 421-452.

Malcolm E. Jewell, "State Legislative Elections: What We Know and Don't Know," 22:4 (October 1994): 483-509.

American Sociological Review

Francois Nielsen, "Income Inequality and Industrial Development: Dualism Revisited," 59:5 (October 1994): 654-677.

Edwin Amenta, Kathleen Dunleavy, and Mary Bernstein, "Stolen Thunder? Huey Long's 'Share Our Wealth,' Political Mediation, and the Second New Deal," 59:5 (October 1994): 678-702.

Gregory Hooks, "Regional Processes in the Hegemonic Nation: Political, Economic, and Military Influences on the Use of Geographic Space," 59:5 (October 1994): 746-772.

Charles Camic and Yu Xie, "The Statistical Turn in American Social Science: Columbia University, 1890 to 1915," 59:5 (October 1994): 773-805.

Marcia L. Bellas, "Comparable Worth in Academia: The Effects on Faculty Salaries of Sex Composition and Labor-Market Conditions of Academic Disciplines," 59:6 (December 1994): 807-821.

Arthur L. Stinchcombe, "Freedom and Oppression of Slaves in the Eighteenth-Century Caribbean," 59:6 (December 1994): 911-929.

Paul Burstein, R. Marie Bricher, and Rachel L. Einwohner, "Policy Alternatives and Political Change: Work, Family, and Gender on the Congressional Agenda, 1945-1990," 60:1 (February 1995): 67-83.

The Journal of American History

Special Issue: The Practice of American History.

Volume 81, Number 3, December 1994. Contents Include:

David Thelen, "The Practice of American History," [Survey of 1047 JAH readers], (933-960).

Henry Glassie, "The Practice and Purpose of History," (961-968).

Michael Cassity, "History and the Public Purpose," (969-976).

Edward T. Linenthal, "Committing History in Public," (986-991).

Thomas Bender, "'Venturesome and Cautious': American History in the 1990s," (992-1003).

John E. Fleming, "African-American Museums, History, and the American Ideal," (1020-1026).

Alan Brinkley, "Historians and Their Publics," (1027-1030).

Myron A. Marty, "Historians' Crafts: Common Interests in a Diverse Profession," (1078-1087).

Maurizio Vaudagna, "American History at Home and Abroad," (1157-1168).

Kenneth Cmiel, "History Against Itself," (1169-1174).

The Annals

Harry W. Reynolds, ed., Issue on "Ethics in American Public Service," January (1995).

Charles F. Doran and Ellen Reisman Babby, eds., Issue on "Being and Becoming Canada," March 1995.

British Journal of Political Science

Russell J. Dalton, "Communists and Democrats: Democratic Attitudes in the Two Germanies," 24:4 (October 1994): 469-493.

Kenneth A. Schultz, "The Politics of the Business Cycle," 25:1 (January 1995): 79-99.

Business History Review

George A. Selgin and Lawrence H. White, "Monetary Reform and the Redemption of National Bank Notes, 1863-1913," 68:2 (Summer 1994): 205-243.

David A. Moss, "Kindling a Flame Under Federalism: Progressive Reformers, Corporate Elites, and the Phosphorous Match Campaign of 1909-1912," 68:2 (Summer 1994): 244-275.

Comparative Politics

Dwayne Woods, "The Crisis of Center-Periphery Integration in Italy and the Rise of Regional Populism: The Lombard League," 27:2 (January 1995): 187-203.

Dissent

Claus Offe, "Full Employment: Asking the Wrong Question?" (Winter 1995): 77-81.

Thomas E. Weisskopf, "Market Socialism in the East," (Winter 1995): 82-88.

Explorations in Economic History

Werner Troesken, "Antitrust Regulation Before the Sherman Act: The Break-Up of the Chicago Gas Trust Company," 32:1 (January 1995): 109-136.

Environmental History Review

Jared Orsi, "From Horicon to Hamburgers and Back Again: Ecology, Ideology, and Wildfowl Management, 1917-1935," 18:4 (Winter 1994): 19-40.

Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy

Daniel Hays Lowenstein, "Are Congressional Term Limits Constitutional?" 18:1 (Fall 1994): 1-72.

Historical Methods

S. Ryan Johansson, "Food for Thought: Rhetoric and Reality in Modern Mortality History," 27:3 (Summer 1994): 101-125.

David D. Perlmutter, "Visual Historical Methods: Problems, Prospects, Applications," 27:4 (Fall 1994): 167-184.

International Organization

Hendrik Spruyt, "Institutional Selection in International Relations: State Anarchy as Order," 48:4 (Autumn 1994): 527-557.

Jeffrey A. Frieden, "Institutional Investment and Colonial Control: A New Interpretation," 48:4 (Autumn 1994): 559-593.

Susanne Lohmann and Sharyn O'Halloran, "Divided Government and U. S. Trade Policy: Theory and Evidence," 48:4 (Autumn 1994): 595-632.

Baldev Raj Nayar, "Regimes, Power, and International Aviation," 49:1 (Winter 1995): 139-170.

Journal of British Studies

Simn Cordery, "Friendly Societies and the Discourse of Respectability in Britain, 1825-1875," 34:1 (January 1995): 35-58.

J. D. Tomlinson, "The Iron Quadrilateral: Political Obstacles to Economic Reform under the Attlee Government," 34:1 (January 1995): 90-111.

Journal of Economic Issues

J. Dennis Chasse, "The American Association for Labor Legislation and the Institutional Tradition in National Health Insurance," 28:4 (December 1994): 1063-1090.

Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law

Antonia Maioni, "Nothing Succeeds Like the Right Kind of Failure: Postwar National Health Insurance Initiatives in Canada and the United States," 20:1 (Spring 1995): 5-30.

Journal of Peace Research

Rudolph J. Rummel, "Power, Genocide and Mass Murder," 31:1 (February 1994): 1-10.

J. Davidson Alexander, "Military Conversion Policies in the USA: 1940s and 1990s," 31:1 (February 1994): 19-43.

Journal of Policy History

Larry G. Gerber, "The National Industrial Recovery Act in Comparative Perspective: Organized Labor's Role in American and British Efforts at Industrial Planning, 1929-1933," 6:4 (1994): 403-438.

George R. LaNoue and John C. Sullivan, "Presumptions for Preferences: The Small Business Administrations' Decisions on Groups Entitled to Affirmative Action," 6:4 (1994): 439-467.

John Braeman, "Law and American Economic Development," 6:4 (1994): 468-485.

Donald T. Critchlow, "Birth Control, Population Control, and Family Planning: An Overview," 7:1 (1995): 1-21.

James W. Reed, "The Birth-Control Movement Before Roe v. Wade," 7:1 (1995): 22-52.

Ian Mylchreest, "Sound Law and Undoubtedly Good Policy: Roe v. Wade in Comparative Perspective," 7:1 (1995): 53-71.

John Sharpless, "World Population Growth, Family Planning, and American Foreign Policy," 7:1 (1995): 72-102.

James Davidson Hunter and Joseph E. Davis, "Cultural Politics at the Edge of Life," 7:1 (1995): 103-127.

Keith Cassidy, "The Right to Life Movement: Sources, Development, and Strategies," 7:1 (1995): 128-159.

Suzanne Staggenborg, "The Survival of the Pro-Choice Movement," 7:1 (1995): 160-176.

Donald T. Critchlow and Christina Sanders, "Selected Bibliography on Abortion and Birth Control," 7:1 (1995): 177-180.

Journal of Politics

Charles D. Hadley, "Blacks in Southern Politics: An Agenda for Research," 56:3 (August 1994): 585-600.

Elaine B. Sharp, "The Dynamics of Issue Expansion: Cases from Disability Rights and Fetal Research Controversy," 56:4 (November 1994): 919-939.

Shaun Bowler, David J. Lanoue, and Paul Savoie, "Electoral Systems, Party Competition, and Strength of Partisan Attachment: Evidence from Three Countries," 56:4 (November 1994): 991-1007.

Alan S. Zuckerman, Nicholas A. Valentino, and Ezra W. Zuckerman, "A Structural Theory of Vote Choice: Social and Political Networks and Electoral Flows in Britain and the United States," 56:4 (November 1994): 1008-1033.

Gerald S. Gryski, Gary Zuk, and Deborah J. Barrow, "A Bench that Looks Like America? Representation of African-Americans and Latinos on the Federal Courts," 56:4 (November 1994): 1076-1086.

Alexander C. Pacek and Benjamin Radcliff, "Economic Voting and the Welfare State: A Cross-National Analysis," 57:1 (February 1995): 44-61.

Gary M. Segura and Stephen P. Nicholson, "Sequential Choices and Partisan Transitions in U.S. Senate Delegations: 1972-1988," 57:1 (February 1995): 86-100.

Kenneth Collier and Terry Sullivan, "New Evidence Undercutting the Linkage of Approval and Presidential Support and Influence," 57:1 (February 1995): 197-209.

Journal of Public Policy

Susana Aguilar Fernandez, "Convergence in Environmental Policy? The Resilience of Nation Institutional Designs in Spain and Germany," 14:1 (January-March 1994): 39-56.

John T. Woolley, "The Politics of Monetary Policy: A Critical Review," 14:1 (January-March): 57-85.

Journal of Theoretical Politics

Gary D. Libecap, "The Conditions for Successful Collective Action," 6:4 (October 1994): 563-592.

Gunnar Grendstad and Per Selle, "Cultural Theory and the New Institutionalism," 7:1 (January 1995): 5-27

Daniel J. Kriek, "David Easton and the Analysis of Political Structure," 7:1 (January 1995): 29-39.

Labor History

Alan Dawley and Joe William Trotter, Jr., "Race and Class," 35:4 (Fall 1994): 486-494.

Joe William Trotter, Jr., "African-American Workers: New Directions in U.S. Labor Historiography," 35:4 (Fall 1994): 495-523.

Chris Friday, "Asian American Labor and Historical Interpretation," 35:4 (Fall 1994): 524-546.

Camille Guerin-Gonzales, "Conversing Across Boundaries of Race, Ethnicity, Class, Gender, and Region: Latino and Latina Labor History," 35:4 (Fall 1994): 547-563.

Law and Social Inquiry

Marianne Constable, "Genealogy and Jurisprudence: Nietzsche, Nihilism, and the Social Scientification of Law," 19:3 (Summer 1994): 551-590.

Law and Society Review

James Bohman, "Complexity, Pluralism, and the Constitutional State: On Habermas's *Faktizitat und Geltung*," and comments by Kenneth Casebeer and Jonathon Simon, 28:4 (1994): 931-962.

Legislative Studies Quarterly

Barbara Sinclair, "House Special Rules and the Institutional Design Controversy," 19:4 (November 1994): 477-494.

Lyn Ragsdale, "Old Approaches and New Challenges in Legislative Election Research," 19:4 (November 1994): 537-582.

New Left Review

Catherine Hall, "Rethinking Imperial Histories: The Reform Act of 1867," 208 (November/December 1994): 3-29.

Policy Sciences

Ronald D. Brunner, "Myth and American Politics," 27:1 (1994): 1-18.

Peter deLeon, "Reinventing the Policy Sciences: Three Steps Back to the Future," 27:1 (1994): 77-95.

Special Issue on Feminism and Public Policy, 27:2-3 (1994).

Policy Studies Journal

Frances Stokes Berry, "Sizing Up State Policy Innovation Research," 22:3 (Autumn 1994): 442-456.

Policy Studies Review

Symposium: Environmental Policymaking, 12:3/4 (Autumn/Winter 1993): 103-243.

Political Research Quarterly

L. Marvin Overby, Beth M. Henschen, Julie Strauss, and Michael H. Walsh, "African-American Constituents and Supreme Court Nominees: An Examination of the Senate Confirmation of Thurgood Marshall," 47:4 (December 1994): 839-855. Responses by Howard Gillman and Robert Lowry Clinton, 877-890.

Robert Lowry Clinton, "Judicial Review, Nationalism, and the Commerce Clause: Contrasting Antebellum and Postbellum Supreme Court Decision Making," 47:4 (December 1994): 857-876.

James Meernik and Joseph Ignagni, "Congressional Attacks on Supreme Court Rulings Involving Unconstitutional State Laws," 48:1 (March 1995): 43-59.

Jan E. Leighley, "Field Essay: Attitudes, Opportunities and Incentives: A Field Essay on Political Participation," 48:1 (March 1995): 181-209.

PS: Political Science and Politics

Symposium: "Democracy, Islam, and the Study of Middle Eastern Politics," 27:3 (September 1994): 507-579.

James Q. Wilson, "Reinventing Public Administration," 27:4 (December 1994): 667-673.

Symposium: "Election Systems and Representative Democracy," 27:4 (December 1994): 674-692.

Symposium: "The Christian Right and the 1994 Elections," 28:1 (March 1995): 5-23.

Symposium: The Voting Rights Act After *Shaw v. Reno*? 28:1 (March 1995): 24-56.

Political Science Quarterly

Louis Fisher, "Congressional Checks on Military Initiatives," 109:5 (Winter 1994-95): 739-762.

Darrell M. West, "Television Advertising in Election Campaigns," 109:5 (Winter 1994-95): 789-809.

Jessica Korn, "The Legislative Veto and the Limits of Public Choice Analysis," 109:5 (Winter 1994-95): 873-894.

Donald R. Brand, "Republicanism and the Vigorous Executive: A Review Essay," 109:5 (Winter 1994-95): 895-902.

Politics and Society

Charles F. Sabel, "Bootstrapping Reform: Rebuilding Firms, the Welfare State, and Unions," 23:1 (March 1995): 5-48.

Robert E. Goodin and John S. Dryzek, "Justice Deferred: Wartime Rationing and Postwar Welfare Policy," 23:1 (March 1995): 49-73.

Polity

Diana Dwyre, Mark O'Gorman, Jeffrey M. Stonecash, and Rosalie Young, "Disorganized Politics and the Have-Nots: Politics and Taxes in New York and California," 27:1 (Fall 1994): 25-47.

Cathie Jo Martin, "Business and the New Economic Activism: The Growth of Corporate Lobbies in the Sixties," 27:1 (Fall 1994): 49-76.

Majorie Randon Hershey, "The Meaning of a Mandate: Interpretations of 'Mandate' in 1984 Presidential Election Coverage," 27:2 (Winter 1994): 225-254.

Public Administration Review

Anne M. Khademian, "Reinventing a Government Corporation: Professional Priorities and a Clear Bottom Line," 55:1 (January/February 1995): 17-28.

Public Choice

Audrey B. Davidson, Elynor D. Davis, and Robert B. Ekelund, Jr., "Political Choice and the Child Labor Statute of 1938: Public Interest or Interest Group Legislation?" 82:1-2 (January 1995): 85-106.

Jack. C. Heckelman, "The Effect of the Secret Ballot on Voter Turnout Rates," 82:1-2 (January 1995): 107-124.

The Public Interest

Nathan Glazer, "Immigration and the American Future," 118 (Winter 1995): 45-60.

Publius: The Journal of Federalism

Joseph F. Zimmerman, "Introduction: Dimensions of Interstate Relations," 24:4 (Fall 1994): 1-12.

Patricia S. Florestano, "Past and Present Utilization of Interstate Compacts in the United States," 24:4 (Fall 1994): 13-26.

Sanford F. Schram and Gary Krueger, "'Welfare Magnets' and Benefit Decline: Symbolic Problems and Substantive Consequences," 24:4 (Fall 1994): 61-82.

Signs

Anne Whaltheall, "Devoted Wives/Unruly Women: Invisible Presence in the History of Japanese Social Protest," 20:1 (Autumn 1994): 106-136.

Elizabeth Alexander, "'We Must Be About Our Father's Business': Anna Julia Cooper and the In-Corporation of the Nineteenth-Century African-American Woman Intellectual," 20:2 (Winter 1995): 336-356.

Harriet Evans, "Defining Difference: The 'Scientific' Construction of Sexuality and Gender in the People's Republic of China," 20:2 (Winter 1995): 357-394.

Social Forces

William G. Lehrman, "Diversity in Decline: Institutional Environment and Organizational Failure in the American Life Insurance Industry," 73:2 (December 1994): 605-635.

Social Science Quarterly

Katherine M. Donato, "U.S. Policy and Mexican Migration to the United States, 1942-92," with commentary by Thomas J. Espenshade and Ricardo Romo, 75:4 (December 1994): 705-740.

Social Service Review

Dona Cooper Hamilton, "The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and New Deal Reform Legislation: A Dual Agenda," 68:4 (December 1994): 488-502.

Society

Daniel M. Fox, "Revisiting the Politics of Art Museums," 32:2 (January/February 1995): 42-46.

Thelma Z. Lavine, "The Process of Government" [Profile of Arthur F. Bentley], 32:2 (January/February 1995): 48-55.

Alan Wolfe, "Realism and Romanticism in Sociology," 32:2 (January/February 1995): 56-63.

Benjamin Higgins, "The American Frontier and the TVA," 32:3 (March/April 1995): 34-42.

Robert A. Dahl, "Justifying Democracy," [Profile] 32:3 (March/April 1995): 43-49.

Telos

Special Issue on Federalism, 100 (Summer 1994).

Theory and Society

Juan Diez Medrano, "Patterns of Development and Nationalism: Basque and Catalan Nationalism Before the Spanish Civil War," 23:4 (August 1994): 541-570.

Margaret R. Somers, "The Narrative Constitution of Identity: A Relational and Network Approach," 23:5 (October 1994): 605-649.

Symposium on Sociology of Revolutions, 23:6 (December 1994): 731-803.

Urban Affairs Quarterly

Alan DiGaetano, "Urban Governance in the Gilded Age: An Examination of Political-Culture, Social-Control, and Fiscal-Ideology Theories," 30:2 (December 1994): 187-209.

Michael Lewis, "No Relief From Politics: Machine Bosses and Civil Works," 30:2 (December 1994): 210-226.

Urban Affairs Review (formerly Urban Affairs Quarterly)

Denise R. Nickel, "The Progressive City? Urban Redevelopment in Minneapolis," 30:3 (January 1995): 355-377.

The William and Mary Quarterly

Forum: "How Revolutionary Was the Revolution? A Discussion of Gordon S. Wood's *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*," Including: Joyce Appleby, Barbara Clark Smith, Michael Zuckerman, and Gordon Wood. 51:4 (October 1994): 677-716.

World Politics

Edward Rhodes, "Do Bureaucratic Politics Matter? Some Disconfirming Findings from the Case of the U.S. Navy," 47:1 (October 1994): 1-41.

Jytte Klausen, "Social Rights Advocacy and State Building: T. H. Marshall in the Hands of Social Reformers," 47:2 (January 1995): 244-267.

Works in Progress

Daniel Stid,
WABASH COLLEGE

"A Mission of Statesmanship: Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for Responsible Government in the United States."

In this manuscript, I analyze Woodrow Wilson's efforts to replace the constitutional rivalry and political independence of Congress and the President with a more cooperative, interdependent relationship, one that would allow for authoritative leadership across the separation of powers. The premise of the study is that we cannot fully understand the problems of leadership and governance in the contemporary American polity until we have a better grasp on both (a) Wilson's political science, in which these problems were first identified and astutely analyzed; and (b) his presidency, during which he put his theoretical solution to a remarkable and revealing test.

The study situates Wilson's theory and practice in appropriate historical context, understanding him as he understood himself: engaged in and responding to reform discourse and political developments of his day. The resulting blend of political theory and intellectual and political history throws new light on Woodrow Wilson and the separation of powers. The predominant image of Wilson as an unabashed theorist and leader in his confrontation with the separation of powers is belied by Wilson's persistent ambivalence regarding both his project and its prospects in the face of the countervailing and entrenched logic of the Founders' Constitution.

Notwithstanding Wilson's insights, and the considerable achievements they produced during his presidency, his program for responsible government was ultimately thwarted by the theoretical compromises he had to make when reconciling it with the Founder's Constitution. These compromises confounded Wilson's attempt to lead as the prime minister of a responsible government. They also left Wilson with both the means and a growing inclination to act as an independent and institutionally jealous President. My research indicates that political scientists and reformers cannot afford to overlook the enduring influence that the separation of powers has on political thought and behavior alike, and thus on the paths that American political development might take.

NEHA Conference

The New England Historical Association (NEHA), a regional affiliate of the AHA, held its annual conference on April 29, 1995 at Mt. Holyoke College. NEHA is open to all members and any non-members interested in history on a vocational or avocational basis. For program or membership information, contact the NEHA Executive Secretary: Peter Holloran, NEHA, Pine Manor College, Chestnut Hill, MA 02167; pch@world.std.com.

Susan Riley
CARLETON COLLEGE

The provision of quality child care services remains a serious, unresolved public policy concern in the United States today. If Congress and the states require millions of mothers of young children currently on welfare to seek employment, and if they fail to provide increased public funds for child care to meet the expanded need, this will fit a long-standing pattern: the absence of public responsibility for extrafamilial child care, and a reliance on the resources of private agents in the delivery of child care services.

In my dissertation, I examine an important period in the history of child care in America - the World War II era - in an effort to understand the political, social, and gender-related obstacles to the provision of publicly-supported child care services. At the center of my research is a case study of U.S. government attempts to deal with the need for child care as millions of women flocked to war work. The short-lived wartime program represented the first federal effort at providing care for the children of employed mothers, an effort which would not be repeated until the revival of feminism decades later.

To better understand the war years, I also examine the history of child caring in America leading up to the establishment of WPA nursery schools in the 1930s (a welfare program intended to aid impoverished families, rather than to serve employed mothers). Additionally, I ask the basic but oft-neglected questions: What did mothers and fathers need in these socio-economic circumstances to adequately care for their children? What did they want? And what did they get? A half-century later, these questions remain painfully relevant.

Suzanne Mettler
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

Suzanne Mettler is interested in how political-institutional arrangements in different policy-making regime periods in the U.S. have shaped and re-shaped the contours and meanings of American citizenship in its legal, political, social and economic formulations. She aims to illuminate why some administrative arrangements for policy implementation have fostered societal unity, while others have exacerbated and institutionalized hierarchies of gender, race, or class.

Mettler is currently at work on a book about how New Deal social and labor policies shaped gender. She finds that men, especially white men, were granted new rights guaranteed and largely administered by the national government. White women and African-American women and men, by contrast, remained subject to the rule of the individual states. The separateness of two forms of citizenship, national versus federal, thus became new formalized, institutionalizing inequalities and establishing political barriers to social change. An article related to this project, "Federalism, Gender and the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938," appeared in the Summer 1994 issue of *Polity*.

David Hart
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

I recently completed a dissertation entitled "Competing Conceptions of the Liberal State and the Governance of Technological Innovation in the U.S., 1933-1953," and I intend to turn it into a book. The project focuses on how policy-makers conceived of the appropriate role of the state in a society in which the market was acknowledged to be the dominant economic institution. I use the case of policy-making for science and technology perceived to have economic importance, although this inevitably shades into knowledge with military applications in the period that I am studying. I draw on archival sources in such areas as R&D funding, antitrust, patent, and macroeconomic policy-making. In the next year, I expect to focus particularly on clarifying such concepts as the "associative state" (Ellis Hawley) and "administrative state" (Allen Brinkley) and on bolstering my study of the Truman period, especially the Korean War.

John Gerring
BOSTON UNIVERSITY

For the past several years I have been reading campaign speeches and platforms issued by the major parties during presidential elections from 1828 to 1992. My interest in these documents is to determine the shape and changing content of American party ideology, a subject that has rarely been addressed by historians or political scientists (except at 'mass' levels, and even then, rather schematically). American party ideology, I argue, is most usefully conceptualized as a set of five ideological epochs: Whig Republicanism (1828-1924), Liberal Republicanism (1928-1992), Antistatist Democracy (1828-1892), Populist Democracy (1896-1948), and Universalist Democracy (1952-1992). Most of the book (in progress) is devoted to the descriptive task of charting the ideological trajectories of the two major parties. In the last chapter I take a stab at some of the larger questions surrounding the subject (where does ideology come from? what causes it to change? how 'consensual' or 'liberal' are the parties?).

Survey Results

Unfortunately, only four members responded to the survey in the last issue of *Clio*. They teach a wide range of courses including administration, methods, philosophy, sociological theory and comparative politics. Two individuals have used the Lowi and Ginsberg test in the Introduction to American Politics course. Books with a politics and history theme that were useful for graduate instruction included Wood's *The Creation of the American Republic*; Morone's *The Democratic Wish*; Hartz's *The Liberal Tradition in America*; Kammen's *People of Paradox*; and Neustadt and May's *Thinking in Time*. One respondent hoped to see more on teaching in *Clio*, while another asked for more on methods.

THE HOUSE OF REFUGE.



New York House of Refuge (for juvenile delinquents) on Randall's Island. (Harper's Weekly, May 23, 1868, page 332).

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